

WILLIAM W. WINTER

ACCOUNT

To His dearly beloved, the inhabitants

OF

KIDDERMINSTER,

Of the sum of his late estate, the sum of
£1000.00 in full
of the sum of £1000.00 in full

WITH

The sum of W. W. WINTER'S late
estate in full

AND

The sum of £1000.00 in full
of the sum of £1000.00 in full

J. M. [Signature]
1870

Printed and Sold by [Name]

RICHARD BAXTER

ACCOUNT

To his dear friend the Bishop of Worcester

KIDDERMINSTER

Of the order of his being forbidden by the
Bishop of Worcester to preach
within his Diocese

The Bishop of Worcester's Letter
in Answer to the same

AND

Some short Remarks upon the said
Bishop's Letter



Printed by J. Smith, 1782

*To my dearly beloved the Inhabitants of the Burrough
and Parish of Kederminster in Worcester-shire.*

AS I never desired any greater preferment in this world, than to have continued in the work of my Ministry among you, so I once thought my dayes would have been ended in that desired station: But we are unmet to tell God how he shall dispose of us; or to fore-know what changes he intends to make. Though you are low in the world, and have not the Riches which cause mens estimation with the most, I see no probability that we should have been separated till death, could I but have obtained leave to preach for nothing.

But being forbidden to preach the Gospel in that Diocesse, I must thankfully take the liberty which shall anywhere else be vouchsafed me. And while I may enjoy it, I take it not for my duty to be over-querulous; though the wound that is made by my separation from you be very deep. And though to strangers it will seem probable that such severity had never been exercised against me, but for some heynous crime, yet to you that have known me, I shall need to say but little in my defence. The great crime which is openly charged on me; and for which I am thought unworthy to preach the Gospel, (even where there is no other to preach) is a matter that you are unacquainted with; and therefore, as you have heard me publicly accused of it, I am bound to redder you such an account as is necessary to your just information and satisfaction.

It pleased the Kings Majesty, (in the prosecution of his most Christian resolution, of uniting his differing subjects by the way of mutual approaches and abatements) to grant a Commission to twelve Bishops and nine assistants on the one side, and to one Bishop and eleven other Divines and nine assistants on the other side, to treat about such alterations of the Liturgy, as are necessary to the satisfying of tender Consciences; and to the restoring of unity and peace. My experiences in a former Treaty (for Reconciliation in matter of Discipline) made me intreat those to whom the nomination on the one side was committed, to excuse me from the service which I knew would prove troublesome to my self, and ungrateful to others; but I could

not prevail. (But the Work it self, I very much approved, as to be done by siter and more acceptable persons.) Being commanded by the Kings Commission, I took it to be my duty to be faithful, and to plead for such Alterations as I knew were necessary to the assigned ends; thinking it to be treachery to his Majesty that entrusted us, and to the Church and Cause for which we were entrusted, if under pretence of making such Alterations as were necessary to the two fore-mentioned ends, I should have silently yield to have [No Alterations] or [next to none.] In the conclusion (when the chief work was done by writing) a Committee of each part, was appointed to manage a Disputation in presence (by writing also.) Therein those of the other part formed an Argument, whose Major proposition was to this sense (for I have no copy) [*Whatsoever book enjoyneth nothing but what is of it self lawfull, and by lawfull authority, enjoyneth nothing that is sinful:*] We denied this proposition; and at last gave divers Reasons of our denial; among which one was that [*It may be unlawful by Accident, and therefore sinful*] You uow know my crime; It is my concurring with learned reverend Brethren, to give this Reason of our denial of a proposition: Yet they are not forbidden to preach for it, (and I hope shall not be;) but only I. You have publickly heard, from a mouth that should speak nothing but the words of Charity, Truth, and Sobernesse, (especially there) that this was [*a desperate shift that men at the last extremity are forced to*] and inferring [*that then neither God nor Man can enjoin without sin.*] In City and Country this soundeth forth to my reproach. I should take it for an act of clemency to have been smitten professedly for nothing, and that it might not have been thought necessary to afflict me by a defamation, that so I might seem justly afflicted by a prohibition to preach the Gospel. But indeed is there in these words of ours so great a crime? Though we doubted not but they knew that our Assertion made not Every evil accident, to be such as made an Imposition unlawful, yet we exprest this by word to them at that time, for fear of being misreported; and I told it to the Right Reverend Bishop when he forbade me to preach, and gave this as a reason: And I must confesse I am still guilty of so much weaknesse, as to be confident that some things not evil of themselves, may have Accidents so evil, as may make it a sin to him that shall command them. Is this opinion inconsistent with all Government? Yea, I must confesse my self guilty of so much greater weaknesse, as that I thought I should never have found a man on earth, that had the ordinary reason of a man, that had made question of it; yea I shall say
more

more then that which hath offended, viz. that a Commander is commanding or forbidding of a thing indifferent to him to do or not to do, but that than good, and this may be foreseen, the commanding or forbidding it is a sin. But yet this is not the Assertion that I am chargeable with, but that [some Accidents there may be that make the Impression sinful;] If I may ask it without accusing ischaer, how would my crime have been denominated if I had said the contrary? Should I not have been judged unworth to live in any Governed society? It is not unlawfull of it self to command out a Navy to Sea: But if it were foreseen that they would fall into the enemies hands, or were like to perish by any accident, and the necessity of sending them were finally, or none, it were a sin to send them. It is not of it self unlawful to sell poyson, or to give a knife to another, or to bid another do it: but if it were foreseen that they will be used to poyson or kill the buyer, it is unlawful, and I think the Law would make him believe it that were guilty. It is not of it self unlawful to light a Candle or set fire on a straw; But if it may be foreknown, that by anothers negligence or wilfulnesse, it is like to set fire on the City, or to give fire on a train and store of Gunpowder, that is under the Parliament House, when the King and Parliament are there: I crave the Bishops pardon, for believing that it were sinful to do it, or command it: Yea or not to hinder it (in any such case,) when *Qui non vult spectare damnetur jabet.* Yea though going to Gods publike worship be of it self free from being a sin, as that it is a duty, yet I think it is a sin to command it to all in time of a raging pestilence, or when they should be defending the City against the assault of an enemy. It may rather be then a duty to prohibere it. I think *Pauls* spoke not any thing inconsistent with the Government of God or Man, when he bid both the Rulers and people of the Church, not to destroy him which their meat for whom Christ dyed, and when he saith that he hath not his Power to destruction, but to Edification. Yea these are Evil Accidents of a thing not evil of it self, that are caused by the Commander: and it is my opinion, that they may prove his command unlawful.

But what need I use any other instances then that which was the matter of our dispute? Suppose it never so lawfull of it self to kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, if it be imposed by a penalty that is incomparably beyond the proportion of the offence, that penalty is an Accident of the command, and maketh it by accident sinful in the Commander: If a Prince should have Subjects so weak as that all of them thought it a sin against the example of Christ, and the Canons

of the general Councils, and many hundred years practice of the Church to kneel in the act of receiving on the Lords day, if we should make a Law that all should be put to death that would not kneel, when he foreknew that their consciences would command them all, or most of them, to die rather than obey, would any man deny this command to be unlawful by this accident? Whether the penalty of ejecting Ministers that dare not put away all that kneel, and of casting out all the people that scruple it, from the Church, be too great for such a circumstance, (and so in the rest,) and whether this, with the lamentable state of many Congregations, and the divisions that will follow, being all foreseen, do prove the Impositions unlawful which were then in question, is a case that I had then a clearer call to speak to, then I have now. Only I may say that the ejection of the servants of Christ from the Communion of the Church, and of his faithful Ministers from their sacred work, when too many Congregations have none but insufficient or scandalous teachers, or no preaching Ministers at all, will appear a matter of very great moment, in the day of our Accounts, and such as should not be done upon any but a Necessary cause, where the benefit is greater then this hurt (and all the rest) amounts to.

Having given you (to whom I owe it) this account of the cause for which I am forbidden the exercise of my Ministry in that Countrey, I now direct these Sermons to your hands, that seeing I cannot teach you as I would, I may teach you as I fear. And if I much longer enjoy such liberty as this, it will be much above my expectation.

My dearly beloved, stand fast in the Lord: And fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be afraid of their revilings: For the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool: but the righteousness of the Lord shall be for ever, and his salvation from generation to generation, Isa. 51. 7, 8. If I have taught you my doctrine of error or impiety, of disobedience to your Governours in lawful things, of schism or uncharitable bitterness, unlearn them all, and renounce them with penitent detestation. But if otherwise, I beseech you mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them: For they are such as serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple, Rom. 16. 17. If any shall speak against Truth or Godliness, remember what you have received; and how little any adversary could say, that ever had such assaults upon you: and

and that it is easie for any man to talk considerably when no man must contradict him. I denyed no man liberty upon equal terms; so have said his work against my doctrine that ever I taught you. And how they succeeded, I need not tell you: your own stability tells the world. As you have maintained true Catholicism, and never followed any sect, so I beseech you still maintain the ancient faith, the Love of every member of Christ, and common charity to all, your Loyalty to your King, your peace with all men: And let none draw you from Catholick Unity to faction, though the declaiming against Faction and Schism should be the device by which they would accomplish it. And as the world is nothing, and God is all, to all that are sincere believers? so let no worldly interest seem regardable to you, when it stands in any opposition to Christ; but account all loss and dung for him, Phil. 3. CB. And if you shall hear that I yet suffer more when I have done, let it not be your discouragement or grief; For I doubt not but it will be my crown and joy: I have found no small consolation, that I have not suffered, for sinfull, or for small and indifferent things: And if my pleading against the ejection of the Ministers of Christ, and the excommunicating of his member, for a ceremony, and the divisions of his Church, & the destruction of Charity shall be the cause of my suffering (be it never so great,) it shall as much rejoyce me to be a suffering witness for CHARITY and UNITY, and if I were a Martyr for the Faith, I participate with Paul in expectation and hope, that Christ shall be magnified in my body whether by life or death: and as to live will be Christ, so to die will be gain; Only let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ, that whether I ever see you more, or be absent (till the joyfull day) I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the Gospel; and in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God; if to you it shall be given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake, Phil. 1. 10. 21, 27, 28, 29. But let no injury from inferiors provoke you to wrath, for ye know that God is with you, for ever you. Be meek and patient; the Lord is at hand; Honour all men; Love the Brotherhood; Fear God; Honour the King: For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, 1 Pet. 2. 15, 17. It is soon enough for you and me, to be justified at the bar of Christ (by himself that hath undertaken it) against all the Calumnies of malicious men. Till then let it seem no greater a mat-

ter:

ter then indeed it is, to be slandered, vilified or abused by the world.
Keep close to him that never faileth you, and maintain your integrity,
that he may maintain the joys that none can take from you. Fare
well my dear brethren, who are my glory and joy in the presence of
our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming (1 Thes. 1. 18, 19.

Your faithful, though

university Pastor,

Nov. 11. 1661.

Rich. Baxter.



*The Bishop of Worcester's Letter to a Friend for
Vindication of himself from Mr. Baxter's Calumny.*

SIR,

I Have received that Letter of yours, whereby you inform me that Mr. Baxter hath lately written and printed something with such a reflection upon me, that I am obliged to take notice of it.

I thank you for your care of my Reputation, which next to Conscience ought to be the dearest of all things to all men, especially to men of my Profession and Order, who the more they are vilified (whether justly or unjustly) the less good they will be able to do, especially amongst those that have indistinctly been prepossessed with prejudice either against their Persons or their Functions. This was St. Paul's Case, when there were some that did what they could, to make the *Corinthians* to undervalue his person, that thereby they might discredit his Doctrine, and weaken his Authority, whom therefore he thinks he may without breach of Charity call *False Apostles and Deceitful Workers*. Nay this was our Saviour's own Case, who, whilst he lived here upon the Earth, was ever and anon traduced and slandered by the Scribes and Pharisees, those proud Hypocrites, who were the greatest Pretenders to holiness, and yet the greatest Seducers of the people, and the grossest falsifiers of God's Word, that ever were in the world, until these our times, which have brought forth a generation of men (St. John Baptist would have called them a *Generation of Vipers*), who in the Art of holy juggling and malicious standing have out done the Pharisees themselves, and all that went before them: witness their so often wresting and perverting the Scripture in their Sermons to stir up the people to Sedition, and their as often Libelling the King in their Prayers, in order to the making of his Subjects first to hate him, then to fight against him, and at last to take away his Crown, and his Life from him. And is it any wonder that those that are such Enemies to Kings, should not be friends to Bishops? or that one (who hath done what he could to make the late King odious unto his people) should do what he can likewise to make the Pastor odious unto his Flock? to this Flock I

The Bishop of Worcester's Letter

say; for it is the *Bishop of Worcester*, and not *Mr. Baxter* that is *Pastor of Kidderminster*, as well as of all other *Parochiall Churches* in that *Diocess*; neither did I or any other *Bishop of Worcester*, ever commit the care of Souls in that, or any other *Parish* of that *Diocess* to *Mr. Baxter*, though by that *Preface* of his to those of *Kidderminster*, he would make the world believe, that they were his *Flock*, and not *mine*, and that therefore he hath the more reason to complain of my defamation of him (as he calls it) in that place and before that people: whereas the truth is, that *Mr. Baxter* was never either *Parson*, *Vicar* or *Curate* there or any where else in my *Diocess*; for he never came in by the *Door*, that is, by any legal right or lawful admission into that *sheepfold*, but climbed up some other way, namely, by violence and intrusion, and therefore by *Christ's* own inference he was a *Thief* and a *Rabber*; and indeed he did *Rob* him that was then, and is now again the lawful *Vicar* of that *Church*; he *Robbed* him I say, first of his *Reputation* amongst his *Flock*, and then of his *means and maintenance*, by taking away the *Fleece* as well as the *Flock* from him; though (as *Mr. Baxter* himself hath confessed to me) *He be a man of an unblameable life and conversation, though not of such parts* (said *Mr. Baxter*) as are fit to qualify him for the *Cure* of so great a *Congregation*; which whether it were so or no, I am sure *Mr. Baxter* was not to be Judge; but in that case the *Bishop* that was then living should and would have provided him a *Coadjutor*, as I have done since, and such an one, as I hope will feed that *flock* with much more wholesome *Doctrine* than *Mr. Baxter* did, when he sowed the seed of *Schism* and *Sedition*, and blew the *Trumpet* of *Rebellion* amongst them. For which cause I thought it my *Duty* (as being the *Pastor* in *Chief*) not only to forbid *Mr. Baxter* to *Preach* there any more, which, by the way, he had done without any *License*; but likewise to *Preach* there my self, and to do what I could to undeceive that poor seduced and miserably deluded people; which was not to be done, as long as they had the person of their *Seducer* in so great admiration; and therefore by the example of *St. Paul*, who in order to the same end did take the same course with *Alexander the Copper-smith*, with *Demas*, *Philetus*, and *Hymenæus*; as likewise by the example of *Christ* himself, who in order to the same end, did take the same course with the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, I thought it necessary to let them know that one that was of great authority amongst them (meaning indeed, though not naming *Mr. Baxter*) was not the man they took him for; that he had not dealt faithfully with them, nor preached the *Word of God* sincerely to them, when he made them believe it was lawfull for them to take

up Arms against the King, nor in suffering (if not making) them to scruple at these things as unlawfull, which he himself confesses to be lawfull; and afterwards making use of those scruples of theirs (which he himself had infused into them, or not endeavoured to take from them) as the only argument why those things they did so scruple at should not be enjoyn'd by lawfull Authority, though lawfull in themselves, because, forsooth, the enjoyning of things lawfull by lawfull Authority, if they may by accident be the occasion of sin, is sinful; which assertion of his (as then I said, and must still maintain) is destructive of humane society in taking away the Authority of commanding and the obligation of obeying together with the whole Legislative power, Civil as well as Ecclesiastical, and Divine as well as Humane. And thus much (as Mr. Baxter himself saith) I told him before in mine own house, neither did he then deny the assertion, or endeavour to disprove what I inferr'd from it, by any of those distinctions or instances he now useth. And that this is true the Reverend Dr. Worsley, now Dean of Worcester will witness for me, whom I desired to be by whilst I conferr'd with Mr. Baxter, foreseeing what mis-report a man of Mr. Baxters principles and temper was like enough to make of what should pass betwixt us. And it was very well I did so; for I find that the Presbyter as well as the Papist will serve themselves, as often as they are put to it, of their pie fraudes, or holy artifices, of speaking more or lesse then the truth, as it makes more or lesse for their purpose or advantage; as likewise of putting *non causam pro causa*, or a part and a lesse principal part of the cause for the whole cause. For who would not think that knows not Mr. Baxter, that when he tells his Disciples of Kidderminster, *You now know my Crime*, with reference to the aforesaid assertion, and to that only, who would not think, I say, that either there was nothing else objected against him, or at least nothing of moment, or that could be any just and reasonable cause of my forbidding him to Preach in my Diocese? especially when he adds that the Right Reverend Bishop gave him this as a reason for his forbidding him to Preach; where if he means that the Bishop gave him this as the only, or the principal reason, he speaks without truth, and against his Conscience; for the first and principal reason the Bishop gave him for his forbidding him to preach, was (as he well knows, and as the Dean of Worcester will witness against him) *His preaching before without License, having no Cure of his own to preach to*, whereunto when he replyed, *I had promised to give him such a License as the Bishop of London had given him, viz. Quam diu se bene gereret, & durante beneplacito*; I rejoyn'd, that it was true indeed, I had once promised to

give him such a License, but withal, that it was at true, that first I had never promised to give him a License, if he took it before I gave it him; and that for this presumption of his, I had now forbidden him to preach any more. Secondly, That I knew more of him since then I did at that time; for, first, I had been credibly inform'd, that he had abused the Bishop of London's favour in preaching factiously, though not in the City, yet in the Diocese of London, and I named the place to him: Secondly, that since that promise of mine (which cannot be supposed no other then conditional) I myself had heard him in a Conference in the Savoy, maintaining such a position as was destructive to Legislative power both in God and Man (meaning the Assertion before spoken of, viz. That the enjoining of things lawfull by lawfull Authority, if they might by accident be the cause of sin, was sinful) which Assertion of his with the horrible consequences of it I told him then at Worcester, I had formerly told him of at the Savoy openly, and before all the company that was at the Conference; whereunto all that he replyed at my second telling him at Worcester, was, that he had used some distinctions to save that Assertion from those consequences; but what those distinctions were he did not then mention, (as Dr. Warmstry can witness) though in this printed address of his to his friends of Kidderminster, he saith, he did tell the Bishop in what a limited and restrained sense he and his brethren understood that Assertion; which whether they did or no, will appear by and by, when we shall more nearly examine his printed Narrative as to that particular. In the meantime, though I said indeed that one that held and was likely to teach such Doctrines, was not to be suffered to Preach unto the people, yet this was not then alledged by me as the cause or crime for which I had forbidden him to Preach; (for that, as I said before, was His presuming to preach without License) but only as a reason why I should have thought my self not obliged by the promise I had formerly made him, to give him License, though he had not otherwise forfeited his claim to that promise by Preaching without, or before he had it. Lastly, He might have remembered another reason I gave him why I could not have made good that promise, namely, those principles of Treason and Rebellion publicly extant in his books, which I had not taken notice of till after the making of that promise, and which till he should recant in as publick a manner, I thought myself obliged in Conscience not to suffer him to preach in my Diocese; whereunto his Answer was, That whatsoever he had said or done in that kind, was pardoned by the Act of Indemnity; True, said I, so far as the King can pardon it, that is, in regard of its corporal punishment here in this world, but it is God that must pardon the

the guilt or obligation to punishment in the world to come, which he will not without Repentance, and it is the Church that must pardon the scandal, which she cannot do neither without an honourable amends made her by publick Confession and Recantation. I could tell Mr. Baxter in his ear likewise, that in excuse of his Rebellious principles formerly published, he said, That now the Parliament had declared where the Sovereign power was, he should acknowledge it and submit to it, as if the King owed his Sovereignty to the declaration of a Parliament, which is as false as Rebellious, and as dangerous a principle as any of his former, however by what hath been said, it appears that Mr. Baxter meant to impose upon his credulous friends at Kidderminster, & upon his unwary Readers, by making them believe that was the only cause for which the Bishop forbade him to Preach, which was neither the only, nor the principal cause, why the Bishop did so, nor indeed, to speak properly, any cause of it at all; for the only proper cause for which the Bishop forbade him to Preach, was His preaching before without the Bishops License; the other which he pretends, together with the third which he conceals, where properly and professedly the Causes why the Bishop would not take off that prohibition, or why he would not give him a License to Preach for the future, either at Kidderminster, or in any other place of his Diocese, until he should publicly retract that Position which he had openly asserted as the Conference; and should publicly renounce likewise those seditious and rebellious principles which are published in his Books. And this is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth of what passed betwixt me and Mr. Baxter at Worcester, before I preached at Kidderminster, where whether I defamed him, or he, by saying so, hath not grossly defamed me, will appear by that which follows; wherein that I might neither be deceived my self, nor deceive others, I have not trusted to my own memory only, as Mr. Baxter saith he doth to his, but I have consulted with Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearson, two of the three that managed that Conference with Mr. Baxter and his Assaunts, and have seen that Assertion in the same sense that I objected; and Mr. Baxter disclaimed it, affirmed by Mr. Baxter himself under his own hands.

I found Mr. Baxter at the Savoy engaged in a Dispute, and I perceived that to keep himself off from that part of the argument which would presse near to the merits of the Cause, he had often affirmed in his Answers, That the Command of a most lawful Act was lawful; if that Act commanded might prove to any one a sin per accidens. This assertion I did then and there presently and openly lay to his charge; and when he denied it (as it was most frequent with him: immedi-

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ately to deny what he had before affirmed) the answers which he had delivered written with his own hand were produced, and up on the reading of them, the Justice of my charge was most apparent; whereupon I urged him farther, that this Assertion of his was not only false, but destructive of all Authority, Humane and Divine, as not only denying all power to the Church of making Canons Ecclesiastical for the better ordering and governing of the Church, but also taking away all Legislative Power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himself: I delivered at the same time my reason for what I said, which was briefly this, because there can be no Act so good of it self, but may prove *per Accidens*, or by Accident, a sin; And therefore, if to command an Act which may prove *per accidens* a sin, be a sin, then every Command must be a sin. And if to command be a sin, then certainly God can command nothing, because God cannot sin; and by the same reason, Kings, Parliaments and Churches ought not to command any thing, because they ought not to sin.

Thus farre I then charged Mr. Baxter, and to this Charge he gave then no satisfaction. Neither can I yet conceive it possible to give any satisfaction, but by one of these two waies, either by proving that the assertion, with which I charged him, was never his, or by shewing that the consequence I urged, is not good; neither of which was he then able to doe: and by what he hath now been pleased to publish, it is more then probable that he can never perform either of them.

For in his bold, but weak Apology, he doth not so much as pretend to shew any Invalidity in my Inference; and for the Assertion with which I charged him, he denies it so poorly, and goes about to prove another instead of it so manifestly, that he may without any injury be interpreted to yield it. He saith indeed now, *That he told us that his Assertion made not every Evill accident to be such as made an Imposition unlawfull.* But whether he ever said so before this time or no, it was then clearly proved that he did assert, *That an Act for nothing else, but because it might be per accidens a sin, could not be commanded without sin.*

And now in his publick appeal, he hath taken a strange way to wipe off all this, for he makes a very brief Narration, and most notoriously imperfect; and then saies, *You know my crime*, as if that were all that had been, or could be objected against him. Besides, in the relating of this short Narrative, he relies wholly upon his own memory; not so much as endeavouring to satisfie himself, before he presumed

presumed to satisfy others. How his memory may be in other things I know not, in this if it hath been faithfull to him, he hath been very unfaithfull to others. He relates an Answer in what terms he pleaseth, and brings one proposition, as made by his Opponents, in what terms he thinks fit, and the Application of this answer to that proposition he propoundeth as all his Crime; whereas his answer was farre more largely given, and that to several propositions in several Syllogisms, of which the proposition which he relateth was but one, or rather none; so that he hath most shamefully abused his Disciples at Kidderminster, with a short and partial Narrative of his fact.

As for his Concurring with Learned Reverend Brethren, (which he would pretend to be part of his Crime) and his invidious insinuation, *That they are not forbidden to Preach for it, though he be*; the reason is clear. He had often deliverd this assertion before the company, his Brethren had not; the words of the Answer were written with his hand, not with his Brethrens. His Brethren had several times declared themselves not to be of his Opinion (as particularly when he affirmed *(That a man might live without any mortal sin)*) And therefore we were so just as not to charge them with this Assertion; especially considering they did shew themselves unwilling to enter upon this dispute, and seemed to like much better another way tending to an amicable and fair compliance, which was wholly frustrated by Mr. Baxters furious eagerness to engage in a Disputation.

All his discourse which followeth (after his imperfect Narrative) in justification of himself, is grounded first upon a mis-reporting of his own Assertion; Secondly, upon the dissembling of the severall Propositions, to which his answer was so often replyed; Thirdly, upon his pretending *That he says more now, than that which had offended formerly*; which is most palpably false, and in all probability (if he have any memory) against his own Conscience. And this will presently appear by the vanity and impertinency of all those specious instances which he brings to mollifie his Assertion.

To Command a Navy to Sea (he sayes) *is lawfull, but if it were foreseen that they would fall into the Enemies hand; or were like to perish by any accident, it were a sin to send them.* Is there more then he said before; or is it any defence of his Assertion at all? Is it not certainly, because the Opponents had put it expressly in the Proposition; *That the Act in it self lawfull, was to be supposed to have nothing consequent, which the Commander of it ought to provide against*; and yet being so stated, Mr. Baxter affirmed, *That if the Act might be per accidens sinfull, the Commanding of it was sin.* Now certainly the falling,

falling of a Navy into the Enemies hand, or the perishing of it another way, if foreseen, ought to be provided against by the Commander; whereas Mr. Baxters answer did impart, That if any Prince did command a Fleet to Sea, though he did not foresee the Fleet would fall into the Enemies hand, or perish any other way, yet if by Accident it miscarried that or any other way, which he could not foresee, or were not bound to provide against, the very Command at first was sin.

The same reason nullifies his instances of the *poysen*, and the *knife*, because the sin in selling them supposeth the murder of the buyer to be foreseen, and consequently that the seller ought to prevent it; but if he will speak in correspondence to his former Answer, he must shew, that though the seller do not foresee that the buyer will use the poysen or the knife, to his own, or any other mans destruction, yet if by any Accident or mistake, either the buyer, or any other perish by the poysen or the knife, the Seller is guilty of his death.

His instance of *setting a City on fire*, or *putting Gunpowder unto the Parliament House when the King and Parliament are there*, is of the same nature, and needs no addition of answer but only this, that Mr. Baxter, in a sense too true, hath been very instrumental in setting the City on fire, and in adding powder to the Parliament.

The rest which follows betrays the same weaknesse, because the inconveniences are urged upon a Duty to prohibit them; and his answer did charge the Command with sin in respect of such Accidents, as it was no part of the Commanders Duty to provide against. It is therefore most certain, that no one of those instances single, nor all of them jointly have any force in any measure to justify that Assertion which Mr. Baxter did maintain, and whereof he is accused.

As for that last instance, which was (saith he) *the matter of the Dispute*, and which he urgeth in this manner, (*Suppose it never so lawful of it self to Kneel in the reception of the Sacrament, if it be imposed by a penalty, that is incomparably beyond the proportion of the offence, that penalty is an Accident of the Command, and maketh it by Accident sinful to the Commander*) he is manifestly guilty of a double falsification: First, in pretending the matter in dispute, was the imposition of kneeling at the Communion; when this very matter was expressly rejected in the very beginning of the dispute, as belonging to the Canon, not the Common-Prayer-book, the lawfulness of which Canon the Commissioners had no Authority to debate, and Mr. Baxter knows, that his Argument was denied upon that ground. The second falsification is yet greater, in urging the penalty to make the Command

Command itself, when his answer did charge the Command with
 sin, without any relation to the punishment; and when the Propo-
 sition he replied to was so framed, that all unjust penalties were in-
 terminis expressly excluded, even then I say he charged the Command
 of a lawful Act with sin, if it were otherwise by Accident, sinful;
 though by the way I must not grant that the penalty imposed by the
 Law for not kneeling at the Receiving of the Sacrament (namely the
 not admitting of such as will not kneell, at the receiving of it) is
 incomparably greater then the offence for the greatnesse of the offence
 in such cases, and as it stands in relation to such or such a penalty
 appointed for it, is not to be measured by the Quality of the Act
 considered in it self, but by the more or lesse mischievous consequen-
 ces it is likely to produce, if men be not restrained from such an Act
 by such a penalty; for example, when a Soldier is Hanged for steal-
 ing of a Hen, or for taking away any thing of never so little a value,
 without paying for it, no wise man will blame the General for such a
 severity; because if he did not do so, every one would take what he
 pleased, which would discourage the Countrey from bringing in pro-
 visions, and consequently the whole Army would be ruined. And
 as the Martiall, so the Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws likewise in com-
 manding or forbidding any thing under such or such a penalty, have
 an eye not so much to the merits of the Action it self, as to the more
 or less danger of the Publick in the consequences of it; whence it
 comes to pass, that a lesse evil may sometimes most justly be forbid-
 den under a more severe penalty then a greater, because the former
 may be of much more dangerous consequence then the latter; so
 that he that will judge rightly and impartially of the equity or in-
 equity of appointing or inflicting such or such a penalty, he must not
 so much consider the quality of the Transgression singly in it self, nor
 whether it be from weakness, or wilfulness in the party transgre-
 ssing (as he is this or that individual person) but rather he must con-
 sider what the Consequences would be of the breach of such a com-
 mand if it were not prevented by such a severity, always supposing
 the Command it self to be lawful, and that the transgression of it is
 to be considered as he stands in relation to that whole body, whether
 Civil, or Ecclesiastical, whereof he is a part; and that the whole is
 not to be endangered out of tendernes and indulgence to some par-
 ticulars, as evidently it would be, if every man were left at liberty
 to do what seem'd best in his own eyes, even in the Ceremonials and
 Circumstantials of Gods Worship; for considering the pride and
 self-

self-love that is in humane nature; which makes men so overvalue their own practices and their opinions, that they are alwayes apt to undervalue those that will not conform to them, as it alwayes hath been, so it alwayes will be; he that worshippeth God one way, will either judge or condemn him that worshippeth God another way; he that *kneeleth* at the Sacrament, will be thought to be Idolatrous or Superstitious by him that *kneeleth not*, and him that *kneeleth not* will be thought wilful, or weak, by him that *kneeleth*. And thus from diversity grows dislike, from dislike enmity, from enmity opposition, and from opposition, first Separation and Schism in the Church, and then Faction, Sedition and Rebellion in the State; which is a progress very natural, and I would we had not found it to be so by our own experience; for as the State depends upon the safety of the Church, so the safety of the Church depends upon Unity, and Unity it self depends upon Uniformity, and Uniformity there cannot be, as long as there is diversity or divers wayes of worship in the same Church, which will be alwaies, unless it be lawful for publick Authority to oblige all particulars to one way of publick worship, and that under such penalties, as the Law-givers shall thinke necessary to prevent the disturbing of the publick Peace and safety; the preservation whereof being the main end of all Laws, and of all penalties appointed by Law, those practices that are either intentionally or consequentially destructive to this End, may be, and no doubt ought to be restrain'd by severe penalties. It is not therefore the *not kneeling* at the Sacrament, but the *breaking of the Orders* of the Church, and the endangering of the Peace and Safety of the whole, which our Lawes punish by not admitting such unto the Sacrament, as will not, or perhaps dare not *kneeleth*; for as they will not endanger the Peace of their Consciences for the Churches sake; so it becomes the Law-givers not to endanger the Churches and the States Peace for their sakes. And surely when there is a necessity of the yielding of the one or of the other, it is much more reasonable that a part should yield unto the whole, than the whole unto a part, especially when the whole cannot yield without endangering it self, and with it self even those themselves also; that, will they will they, must be involved in the ruine of it; as the *Presbyterians* have found by their own experience also, who by their groundlesse and needlesse separation from us, have given example and ground enough for others to separate from them, till by dividing and subdividing from one another, there was nothing of Uniformity, or unity, or orders, or decency left in that Church, which was formerly (and I hope by

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the Prudence and Piety of publick Authority will be now again) the Glory and Pattern of all other Protestant and Reformed Churches in the world; of which, by the way, there is not one which doth not use as great severity for the preserving of Unity by Uniformity as we do, even in this particular; for do not the Protestant Churches in France enjoy a Standing, the Churches of Holland, Scotland, and the Church of Germany that follow Calvin enjoyne sitting, and the Churches that follow Luther there and elsewhere enjoyne Kneeling as we do, and all of them upon the same penalty of not receiving it otherwise? And is it not as lawful for our Church, as for all other Protestant, and all other Christian Churches, to require of her children the like conformity to her laws under the like penalty for the same end, & to prevent the same danger? *yes* replied Mr. Baxter when this question was asked him) *just as lawful, that is, as lawful as all, such an injunction upon such a penalty being sinful, wherefore and by whomsoever it is enjoined.* A happy England, that hath such an Aristarchus as is worthy to censure all the Churches of the world, whose Catholick practise (if it cross Mr. Baxters opinion) must presently without more ado be condemn'd as sinful, and all the world must be Lyars rather than Mr. Baxter must not be justified in his sayings. You have before seen the ingenuity and veracity, you now see the humility, and the modesty of the Man; and indeed in proportion, of the whole party, for *crimine ab eis, — Disce omnes.* But both Mr. Baxter and the rest of his persuasion think indeed, that it is so great and grievous a punishment to be kept from the Sacrament when men will not receive it in that way and upon those terms that the Church offers? if they doe, why then do they deny it to so many that hunger and thirst after it, whensoever either by reason of Age, or Lameness; or sickness, or some other bodily infirmity they cannot come to Church for it? especially when the Catholick Church in the Twelfth Canon of the first General Council commands it be given even to those that are Excommunicate, if they desire it when they are *in Extremis*, or going out of the world. Secondly, why have they suffered so many whole Parishes in England under their charge to have been without a Communion so many years together, as I am credibly informed they have? Thirdly, why do they reject those from the Sacrament, that will not come before hand to them to be examined by them, there being neither precept nor practise in the Gospel, nor Canon in the Church, either to warrant them to require it, or to oblige the People to submit to it upon any such penalty? I am sure St. Paul when he chides those of the Church of Corinth for coming

coming ignorantly to the Sacrament, and for behaving themselves profanely at the Sacrament, that which he prescribes for avoiding the same or the like faults for the future, is not that every man should come and be examined by the Minister, but that every man should examine himself before he eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup; And yet I will not deny but that every man before he Communicates ought to be well Catechis'd and instructed by the Minister, and thereby enabled to examine himself the better; nor will I deny neither but that every man may and ought in Case of scruple of mind or trouble of conscience to advise with, and to be advised by him that hath the cure of his Soul; but that every man as often as he intends to receive the Sacrament, should be obliged under the penalty of being rejected from it, this is that which I utterly deny, and which I take to be the same thing in other words with that of *Auricular Confession*; so that they who exact the one, have no reason to condemn the other, unless it be because they would ingross it wholly unto themselves; Howsoever, if refusing the Sacrament to those that will not kneel, when the Church enjoyns it, be a penalty so far transcending the offence, how much more must the same penalty transcend the offence, when there is indeed no offence at all? for where there is no *violatio*, there can be no *apologia*, where there is no Law there can be no transgression, and consequently there being no Law of God nor Man that requires all Communicants to be pre-examined by the Minister, those that are refused the Sacrament because they will not be pre-examined, are punished with the same punishment which they complain of, for no offence at all. And therefore *si maxime digna esset* (may our Church say) *ista contumelia, indigni vos, qui sacerdotum tamen*; for, *Woe art thou, O Man that judgest another?* nay, that judgest thy Mother, when thou doest the same, or worse, thing, then those are for which thou condemnest her? and how can any man of reason be so scrupulous, as to quit his Calling, rather than deny the Sacrament to those that will not receive it kneeling, when the Church commands it should neither be taken nor given otherwise, and yet make no scruple at all of denying it to whole Parishes, of denying it to those that cannot come to Church for it, though desirous of it, and qualified for it, and such as have most need of it to strengthen their faith in their last Agony? and lastly, of denying it to such as refuse to be pre-examined by them, and all this without any command or warrant from Gods Word, and contrary to the Command and Custome of Gods Church? whereby it plainly appears, that when they do not think the receiving of the Sacrament of so great importance,

importance, as indeed it is, nor the denying of it so great an injury or punishment as they pretend it to be; or else that they would have every Minister to be a Monarch or Sovereign Law-giver in his own Parish, and this indeed is that they would fain be at, now they have lost their hopes of Governing the whole Kingdome; for you see by what Mr. Baxter adds, that if they may not be suffered to give or deny the Sacrament to whom they please, and in effect to doe what they list in their own Parishes, they threaten to quit their Stations, which he calls being Ejected *because they dare not put away all that will not kneel at the Sacrament*: And this menace they often repeat upon all occasions, as if they were the only men that could carry on the work of the Lord; or as if the Church must needs sink and perish, if it wanted such Pillars as they are to uphold it. But (thanks be to GOD for it) the CHURCH of England is not yet (notwithstanding all their endeavours to that purpose) reduced to so very ill a condition, that she cannot subsist without them; as long as they can continue to be what they have been the sowers and fomenters of Schisms in the Church, and sedition in the State; and as long as they continue to do as they have done in humouring, and hardning, and confirming the people in their obstinate standing out against the lawful commands of their Superiours; which they would never have done at all, if these men had not at first infused into them these scruples. And therefore as God asked Adam and Eve, *How came you to know that you are naked?* so if I should ask those poor souls whom those sly and subtle Serpents have beguiled and seduced, *How came you to know that you shall sin against God if you obey the Orders of the Church in Generall?* or particularly *how came you to know, That it is against the Canons of the Generall Councils, and many hundred years practise of the Church to Kneel in the Act of receiving?* Did you or can you yourselves read those General Councils? Did you or can you examine so many hundred years practise of the Church as Mr. Baxter speaks of? What answer can they make to these demands, but that which Eve made unto God? *The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat*; Mr. Baxter, or some such Godly and Learned men as Mr. Baxter is, did tell us so, and we believed them; But what if Mr. Baxter do not believe that himself which he would have you believe? For first he would have you believe that there is great reverence and respect to be given (as indeed there is) to the Canons of General Councils, and to the *Catholic practise* of the Primitive Church; but doth he himself be-

lieve

lieve this? if he do, why did he so furiously oppose that which all General Councils approve of and confirm? I mean the Government of the Church by Bishops in the sense wherein it is asserted and practised in one Church? Or why did he perswade Subjects to take up Arms against their *Sovereign*? which he knows to be contrary to the Doctrine and practise of the Primitive Christians for many hundred years more then he speaks of. Secondly, Mr. *Baxter* would have you believe, that Kneeling at the receiving of the Sacrament is forbidden by *Generall Councils*, and contrary to the custome and practise of the Ancient Church, which I am afraid he doth not believe himself; I am sure there is no convincing reason to make him believe it; for it is not the Ancient Churches injunction to stand when they prayed betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, that will prove they were forbidden to Kneel when they received; especially if the Presbyterian opinion be true, that we are not to be in the Act of praying, when we are in the Act of receiving; but if we may pray (as no doubt we may and ought to pray) in the Act of Receiving, then supposing the Ancient Injunction of the Church to stand at Prayer upon Sundays betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsontide* to be still in force, yet all the rest of the year we are to kneel when we Pray, and consequently when we Receive, though there were no particular command of our own Church for it. Besides, Mr. *Baxter* knows not the aforesaid Injunction of the Church was but Temporary, till the people were sufficiently confirmed in the Doctrine and Belief of the Resurrection; for if it had been of perpetual obligation, and were still in force, Mr. *Baxter* must needs condemn the whole present Church of God for kneeling when they pray betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, and particularly he must most of all condemn himself and the Presbyterians of England, for not standing when they receive, if at least that Injunction be to be understood of Receiving as well as Praying; which if it be not, then it is urged by Mr. *Baxter* against us to no purpose, as indeed it is; And therefore no doubt Mr. *Baxter* doth not believe himselfe what he would have others believe, when he presseth that occasional temporary injunction of the Church for standing against kneeling; which if it be of force, must needs condemn his own practise of sitting, as well as ours of kneeling. The like may be said of Christs example, alledged by him also; for would he, or would he not have his Disciples believe that they are obliged to doe as Christ did; if he would not have them believe so, why doth he presse them with Christs example? if he would have them believe so, I demand a gain

gain, whether he doth believe it himself or no? if he do not, it is plain he is a seducer of the *people*: but if he do believe it, he must needs condemn the *French Presbyterians* for *standing*, as well as the *English Protestants* for *kneeling*; nay he must needs condemn himself and all other Christians in the world for not doing as Christ did in point of time, I mean for not giving and receiving the Sacrament in the Evening, as Christ did, as well as he condemns us for not doing as Christ did in point of gesture, unless he can prove (which I think he cannot) that we are of necessity to follow Christs example in one circumstance of the same action, and not in another; and in that circumstance which is lesse, but not in that which is more material; for certainly that circumstance which denominates the action (as the circumstance of time doth the Lords supper) is most material; and yet that circumstance by the consent of all Christendome is altered from the Evening to the Morning, and so was the gesture or posture of receiving also, and that upon most just and weighty reasons, till those that delight in change would needs have it otherwise, and that perhaps for no other reason, but because they found it settled in the Church: This is not to follow Christs example, who in things indifferent in their own nature conform'd his practise to that of the Church in which he lived, though varying in some circumstances from the Primitive Institution; and particularly in this very action, from which they press us with Christs example: For it is certain that Christ and his Disciples sat at the Paschever, (though it be uncertain whether he or they sat at the giving and receiving the Sacrament or no, for it was *post prandium*, after he had supped, saith the Text, *Luke. 22. 20.*) Howsoever it is certain, I say, that Christ and his Disciples sat when they sat the Paschever, and this no doubt was according to the custome of the Jewish Church at that time; but it is as certain that this was not the manner according to the first institution of it, which was to eat it *standing*, as you may read *Exod. 12. 11.* So that to urge Christs example against us, is to urge Christs example against himself; for as we conform our selves to the Churches order and custome of our times, in receiving the Communion otherwise in point of gesture, then perhaps it was received at the first institution; so Christ and his Apostles conforming themselves to the order and practise of the Church of their times, did celebrate the Paschever otherwise then according to the first institution: it was to be celebrated in point of gesture also; thereby intending to teach us, that as long as the Essentials of Doctrine and Worship (which are unalterable)

able) are preserved, we are not to separate from the Church or quarrel with our Superiours, if those things that are in their own nature alterable, be not alwaies and in all places just the same that they were at first; because there may be very just cause for the alteration of them; and whether there be such a cause or no in this and the like particulars, it is the Church that is to be the Judge. So that there is nothing that can be collected either from the Canons of the Councils, or from the practise of the Primitive Church, no nor from Christs own example, that can prove Kneeling at the Sacrament to be a sin; neither doth Mr. Baxter himself believe it to be sinful, for if he did, he would not say (as he does Pag. 4. 11. of his five Disputations) *that he himself would kneel rather then disturb the Peace of the Church, or be deprived of its Communion.* In which words he confesseth, First, that Kneeling at the Sacrament is not sinful or unlawful; Secondly, that not to kneel when it is imposed, is to disturb the Peace of the Church; and Thirdly, that the imposing of it upon penalty of being deprived of the Communion, is an effectual means to make those that otherwise would not kneel, to conform to it; and consequently, that the imposing of it upon such a penalty is prudent and rational, and whatsoever is prudent and rational cannot be unlawful; so that not only the Act of Kneeling it self, but the imposition of it by lawful Authority must needs be lawful. Neither indeed would the People scruple at the imposition, if they had not been taught that the thing it self were unlawful, or if Mr. Baxter would yet teach them to believe what he himself believes, namely, that it is lawful; which with what conscience he can refuse to do I know not; for sure he is obliged to teach them obedience not to Divine Authority only, but to humane Authority also in all lawful things; and not to let them go on in such an erroneous opinion, *as will disturb the Peace, and deprive them of the Communion of the Church, and consequently make them sin against God and Man and their own Souls.* Of which sin of theirs he must needs be a partaker in a great measure, if he do not perswade them from it; seeing (as he himself saith) *Qui non vetat peccare cum potest, jubet.* And what Power he hath to lead or mislead those kind of men, their venturing to kill and be killed in a most unrighteous quarrel (upon his perswasion) hath more then enough demonstrated during the time of the late troubles; unless he will say that he hath conjured up a Spirit that he cannot lay. Howsoever by how much the more faulty he hath been in misleading them heretofore, by so much the more zealous he should be to reduce them into the right way hereafter;

hereafter; which if he and the rest of his Brethren can do (as I am confident they can if they will) they will make some amends for the mischief they have done, and then there will be no fear or danger of Ministers being Ejected for their tenderness towards the People, nor of the Ejecting of any of the People from the communion of the Church, nor of the Ejecting themselves to the Orders and Commands of it; & consequently, there will be no Schisms or Divisions amongst us, when we shall all worship the same God the same way. But if they will not do this (which by all obligations Humane and Divine they are bound to do) for my part I know no better way for undeceiving & reducing of the People, then by removing such Ministers, and then we shall see when the blowing of those boisterous winds ceaseth, whether the waves will not be still or no. In the mean time I hope the removing of erroneous and seditious Ministers, though Mr. Baxter ought to remember, that as there is no sin more heinous then Rebellion, so no teacher ought to be more scandalous (I am sure there is none more dangerous) then a teacher of Rebellion.

And now (to use Mr. Baxters own words) I think there is no man to be found on earth, that hath the ordinary reason of a Man, but will confess. That it is indeed destructive of all Government and Legislative power, to Assert (as Mr. Baxter did Assert) the command of a thing in it self lawful by lawful Authority, under no unjust punishment, with no evil circumstance, which the Commander can foresee or ought to provide against (for all these pre-cautions were expressly put in the proposition which Mr. Baxter denied) as a sinful Command, for no other reason, but because the Act Commanded may be by Accident a sin.

Let Mr. Baxter then know, and (if he have ingenuity enough) confess, that the words I spoke (as to this particular) were words of truth, and words of charity also, as being intended and spoken to no other end, but to undeceive that People, who by having his person too much in admiration (as if he could neither deceive nor be deceived) had been so long and so dangerously mislead by him; so that it was not I that defamed him then, but it is he that hath defamed me now. Neither could I expect lesse from the boldnesse of this man and that party, who have had the confidence publicly to own the obligation of the Covenant, even since it hath been condemn'd to be burnt by the Parliament. And truly I see no reason why all those Books and Sermons which have been Preach'd and Printed in defence of the Covenant, or to maintain the same or worse principles of Sedition

The Bishop of Worcester's Letter

then are in the Covenant, should not be burnt also. Nay I dare be bold to say, that if the Authors of such Books and Sermons were not still of the same opinions (and if they be, God deliver us from such Preachers) if they were not still, I say, of the same opinions, but did truly repent of them, and were heartily sorry for the horrible mischief they have done by them, they would with those converted Exorcists, *Act. 16, 19.* bring all those Conjuring Books of theirs together and to save the Hang-man's labour, would publickly burn them all with their own hands, that so, though by the burning of their works they may perhaps suffer some losse in point of reputation with some of their Disciples, yet they themselves may be saved, but so as by fire, *1 Cor. 3. 15.* At least they ought to be enjoined to write Books of Retraction, as *St. Augustine* did; having much more reason to do so then *St. Augustine* had.

And this Sir is all I have to say upon this occasion, and more a great deal then I thought to have said, or then perhaps was needfull to be said to one that knows *Mr. Baxter* and me as well as you do; which if it satisfie you, as I hope it will, you may do what you please with it, in order to the satisfving of others; for this is the first and last trouble I mean to put my self to of this kind, whatsoever provocation I may have from him hereafter.

Your very affectionate Friend,

and Servant,

G. Worcester.

The

The Attestation of Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearson, Concerning a Command of Lawful Superiours, what was sufficient to its being a lawful Command.

This Proposition being brought by us, viz. *That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.*

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus: One is, Because that may be a sin *per accidens*, which is not so in it self, and may be unlawfully commanded though that accident be not in the command. Another is, This it may be commanded under an unjust penalty.

Again this Proposition being brought by us, viz. *That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any just penalty is enjoined, in any circumstance, whence per accidens any sin is consequent, which the Commanders ought to provide against, is not sinful.*

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason given in with his own hand in writing thus: Because the first Act commanded may be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other Act or circumstance commanded be such.

Again this Proposition being brought by us, viz. *That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly or per accidens any sin is consequent, which the Commanders ought to provide against, both in it self being requisite to the lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act per accidens unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjust penalty.*

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same Reasons.

Peter Gunning.

John Pearson.

The Postscript.

Least Mr. Baxter should say I have defamed him once more, by charging him with devising and publishing Maxims of Treason, Sedition and Rebellion (which till he should as publicly recant, I thought it unfit to restore him to the exercise of any act of the Ministry in my Diocese) I think my self obliged to set down some few of his political Theses or Aphorisms in his own words, as they are extant (though it be strange such a Book should still be extant) in his [Holy Common-wealth] most falsely and prophanely so called.

Mr. Baxter's Theses of Government and Governours in generall.

Governours are some limited, some *de facto* unlimited: The unlimited are Tyrants, and have no right to that unlimited Government, P. 106. *Thes.* 101.

II. The 3. qualifications of necessity to the being of Sovereign Power are, 1. So much understanding, 2. So much will or goodness in himself, 3. So much strength or executive power by his interest in the People or others, as are necessary to the said ends of Government, P. 130. *Thes.* 133.

III. From whence he deduceth 3. Corollaries, (*viz.*)

1. When Providence depriveth a man of his understanding and intellectual Capacity, and that stably or to his ordinary temper, it maketh him *materiali indispotum* and incapable of Government, though not of the name. *Thes.* 135.

2. If God permit Princes to turn so wicked as to be incapable of governing so as is consistent with the ends of Government, he permits them to depose themselves. *Thes.* 136.

3. If Providence stably disable him that was the Sovereign from the executing of the Law, protecting the just, and other ends of Government, it makes him an incapable Subject of the power, and so deposeth him. *Thes.* 137.

IV. *Wherunto* be subjoyns, that though it is possible and likely that the ~~guilt~~ ^{guilt} is or may be theirs, who have disabled their Ruler by deserting him, yet he is dismissed and disoblighd from the charge of Govern-

Government; and particular innocent members are diſobliged from being Governed by him.

V. If the perſon (*viz. the Sovereign*) be juſtly diſpoſſeſſed, as by a lawful War, in which he loſeth his right, eſpecially if he violate the Conſtitution and end enter into a Military ſtate againſt the People themſelves, and by them be conquered; they are not obliged to reſtore him, unleſſe there be ſome ſpecial obligation upon them beſides their Allegiance. *Theſ. 145.*

VI. If the perſon diſpoſſeſſed, though it were unjuſtly, do afterwards become incapable of Government, it is not the Duty of his Subjects to ſeek his reſtitution: *Theſ. 146.* No not although (*ſaith he*) the incapacity be but accidental, as if he cannot be reſtored but by Arms of the Enemies of God or of the Commonwealth.

VII. If an Army (of Neighbours, Inhabitants, or whoever) do (though injuriouſly) expel the Sovereign, and reſolve to ruine the Commonwealth, rather then he ſhall be reſtored; and if the Commonwealth may proſper without his reſtauration, it is the Duty of ſuch an injured Prince for the Common good to reſign his Government, and if he will not, the people ought to judge him as made incapable by Providence, and not to ſeek his reſtitution to the apparent ruine of the Commonwealth. *Theſ. 147.*

Where by the way we are to note, he makes the people judge of this and all other incapacities of the Prince, and conſequently when or for what he is to be Depoſed, or not Reſtored by them.

VIII. If therefore the rightful Governour be ſo long diſpoſſeſſed, that the Commonwealth can be no longer without, but to the apparent hazard of its ruine, we (*that is, we the people, or we the Rebels that diſpoſſeſſed him*) are to judge that Providence hath diſpoſſeſſed the former, and preſently to conſent to another. *Theſ. 149.*

IX. When the People are without a Governour, it may be the duty of ſuch as have moſt ſtrength, *ex charitate*, to protect the reſt from injury. *Theſ. 150.* and conſequently they are to ſubmit themſelves to the Parliament, or to that Army which depoſed or diſpoſſeſſed or murdered the rightful Governour.

X. Providence by Conquest or other means doth use so to qualifie some persons above other for the Government when the place is void, that no other persons shall be capable competitors, and the persons (doth not be mean the Cromwells) shall be as good as named by Providence, whom the People are bound by God to choofe, or consent to, so that they are usually brought under a divine obligation to submit to such or such, and take them for their Governours, before those persons have an actual right to Govern. *Thes.* 151.

XI. Any thing that is a sufficient sign of the will of God that this is the person, by whom we must be Governed is enough (as joyned to Gods Laws) to oblige us to consent and obey him as our Governour, *Thes.* 153.

XII. When God doth not notably declare any person or persons qualified above others, there the people must judge as well as they are able according to Gods general rules. *Thes.* 157.

XIII. And yet All the people have not this right of choosing their Governours, but commonly a part of every Nation must be compelled to consent, &c.

XIV. Those that are known enemies of the Common Good in the chiefest parts of it, are unmeet to Govern or choofe Governours, but such are multitudes of ungodly vicious men. *Pag.* 174. So that if those that are strongest (though fewest) call themselves the Godly Party, all others besides themselves are to be excluded from Governing or choosing of Governours. As amongst the ungodly that are to be thus excluded, he reckons all those that will not hearken to their Pastors (he means the Presbyterian Classis) or that are despisers of the Lords-Day, that is, all such as are not Sabbatarians, or will not keep the Lords-Day after the Jewish manner, which they prescribe, and which is condemned for Judaism by all even of the presbyterian persuasion in the world, but those of England and Scotland only.

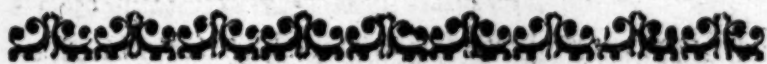
XV. If a People that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, shall sinfully dispossess him, and contrary to their Covenants, choofe another, and Covenant with another, they may be obliged, by their latter Covenant notwithstanding their former, and particular subjects that consented not in the breaking of their former Covenants, may yet

yet be obliged by occasion of their latter choice to the person whom they choose. *Thes.* 181.

XVI. If a Nation injuriously deprive themselves of a worthy Prince, the hurt will be their own, and they punish themselves; but if it be necessarily to their welfare, it is no injury to him. But a King that by war will seek reparations from the body of the People, doth put himself into an hostile State, and tells them actually that he looks to his own good more then theirs, and bids them take him for their Enemy, and so defend themselves if they can. *Pag.* 424.

XVII. Though a Nation wrong their King, and so *quoad Meritum cause*, they are on the worse side, yet may he not lawfully war against the publick good on that account, nor any help him in such a war, because *propter finem* he hath the worse cause. *Thes.* 352.

And yet as he tells us (*pag.* 476.) we were to believe the Parliaments Declarations and Professions which they made, that the war which they raised was not against the King either in respect of his Authority, or of his Person; but only against Delinquent Subjects, and yet they actually fought against the King in person, and we are to believe (*saieth Mr. Baxter pag.* 432.) that men would kill them whom they fight against.



Mr. Baxter's Doctrine concerning the Government of *England* in particular.

HE denies the Government of *England* to be Monarchical in these words.

I, The real Sovereignty here amongst us was in King, Lords, and Commons. *Pag.* 72.

As

II. As to them that argue from the Oath of Supremacy and title given the King, I refer them (saith Mr. Baxter) He might have refer'd them to Mr. Lawson's answer to Hobbs's Politicks, to himself pag. 450. where he sheweth that the Title is often given in the single Person for the honour of the same objection. the Commonwealt and his encouragement, because he hath an eminent interest, but will not prove the whole Sovereignty to be in him: and the Oath excludeth all others from without, nor those whose interest is implied as conjunct with his — The eminent dignity and interest of the King above others allowed the name of a Monarchy or Kingdome to the Common wealth, though indeed the Sovereignty was mixed in the hands of Lords and Commons. pag. 88.

III. He calls it a false supposition. 1. That the Sovereign power was onely in the King, and so that it was an absolute Monarchy. 2. That the Parliament had but onely the proposing of Laws, and that they were enacted onely by the Kings Authority upon their request. 3. That the power of Armes, and of Warre and peace was in the King alone. And therefore (saith he) those that argue from these false suppositions, conclude that the Parliament being Subjects, may not take up Arms without him, and that it is Rebellion to resist him; and most of this they gather from the Oath of Supremacy, and from the Parliaments calling of themselves his Subjects, but their ground (saith he) are sandy, and their superstructure false. pag. 459 & 460.

And therefore Mr. Baxter tells us, That though the Parliament are Subjects in one capacity, yet have they their part in the Sovereignty also in their higher capacity, Ibid. And upon this false and trayterous supposition he endeavours to justify the late Rebellion, and his own more then ordinary activeness in it. For,

IV. Where the Sovereignty (saith he) is distributed into several hands (as the Kings and Parliaments) and the King invades the others part, they may lawfully defend their own by war, and the Subject lawfully assist them, yea though the power of the Militia be expressly given to the King, unlesse it be also exprest that it shall not be in the other. Thef. 363.

The conclusion (saith he) needs no proof, because Sovereignty,

as such, hath the power of Arms and of the Laws themselves. The Law that saith the King shall have the *Militia*, supposeth it to be against Enemies, and not against the Common-wealth, nor them that have part of the Sovereignty with him. To resist him here is not to resist power, but usurpation and private will; in such a case the Parliament is no more to be resisted than he. *Ibid.*

V. If the King raise War against such a Parliament upon their Declaration of the dangers of the Common-wealth, the people are to take it as raised against the Common-wealth. *Thef.* 358.

And in that case (saith he) the King may not only be resisted, but ceaseth to be a King, and entrencheth into a state of War with the people. *Thef.* 368.

VI. Again, if a Prince that hath not the whole Sovereignty, be conquered by a Senate that hath the other part, and that in a just defensive War, that Senate cannot assume the whole Sovereignty, but supposeth that Government in *specie* to remain, and therefore another King must be chosen, if the former be incapable. (*Thef.* 374.) *as he tells us, he is, by ceasing to be King, in the immediately precedent Thef.*

VII. And yet in the Preface to this Book he tells us that the King withdrawing (so he calls the murdering of one King, and the casting off of another) the Lords and Commons ruled alone; was not this to change the species of the Government? Which in the immediate words before he had affirmed to be in King, Lords and Commons; which constitution (saith he) we were sworn, and sworn, and sworn again, to be faithful to, and to defend. And yet speaking of that Parliament which contrary to their Oaths changed this Government by ruling alone, and taking upon them the Supremacy, he tells us that they were the best Governours in all the world, and such as it is forbidden to Subjects to depose upon pain of damnation.

vid. Preface to the Holy Common-wealth; pag. 6.

What then was he that deposed them? one would think Mr. Baxter should have called him a Traitor, but he calls him in the same Preface, the Lord Protector, adding, That he did prudently, piously, faithfully, and to his immortal honour exercise the Government, which he left to his Son, to whom (as Mr. Baxter saith pag. 481.) he is bound to submit as set over us by God; and to obey for conscience sake, and to behave himself as a Loyal Subject towards him, because (as he saith in the same place) a full and free Parliament had owned him: thereby implying, That a maimed and mangled House of Commons, without King and Lords, and notwithstanding the violent expulsion of the secluded Members, were a full and free Parliament; and consequently that if such a Parliament should have taken Arms against the King, he must have sided with them. Yea, though they had been never so much in fault, and though they had been the beginners of the

War, for he tells us in plain and expresse terms,

VIII. That if he had known the Parliament had been the beginners of the War, and in most faults, yet the ruine of the Thuites and Representatives, and so of all the securit y of the Nation, being a punishment greater than any faults of theirs against the King could deserve from him, their faults could not dis-oblige him (*meaning himself*) from defending the Common-wealth. *Pag. 480.*

And that he might do this lawfully, and with a good Conscience, he seems to be so confident, that in his Preface, he makes as it were a challenge, saying, that if any man can prove that the King was the highest power in the time of those Divisions, and that he had power to make that War which he made, he will offer his head to Justice as a Rebel.

As if in those times of Division the King had lost or forfeited his Sovereignty, and the Parliament had not only a part, but the whole Sovereignty in themselves.

IX. Finally Mr. Baxter tells us, *pag. 486.* That having often searched into his heart, whether he did lawfully engage into the War or not, and whether he did lawfully encourage so many thousands to it; he tells us, I say, that the issue of all his search was but this, ---- That he cannot yet see that he was mistaken in the main cause, nor dares he repent of it, nor forbear doing the same, if it were to do again in the same state of things. *He tells us indeed in the same place, that if he could be convinced he had sinned in this matter, he would as gladly make a publick recantation, as he would eat or drink: which seeing he hath not yet done, it is evident he is still of the same mind, and consequently would upon the same occasion do the same thing; viz. fight, and encourage as many thousands as he could to fight against the King, for any thing that calls it self, or which he is pleased to call a full and free Parliament: as likewise that he would own and submit to any Usurper of the Sovereignty, as set up by God, although he came to it by the murder of his Master, and by trampling upon the Parliament. Lastly, That he would hinder as much as possibly he could, the restoring of the rightful Heir unto the Crown. And now whether a man of this Judgement, and of these affections, ought to be permitted to Preach or no, let any, but himself, judge.*

*A Letter unto a Person of Honour and Quality,
Containing some Animadversions upon
the Bishop of Worcester's Letter.*

Honourable and Worthy Sir,

I Am to think You for the last piece of Diversisement you gave me, in sending the Bishop of Worcester's Letter, and I wish you would have let me enjoyed the satisfaction I took in reading it, without obliging me to give You my sense upon it: For besides my unwillingness to meddle in a Personal quarrel, it will not, I think, be very safe for any to engage against so angry an Adversary, which I shall be thought to do, though I resolve to speak nothing but Truth in the Character I intend to give of him; And it is briefly this, That, in fewer leaves I never yet read more Passion, which is so very predominant, that his disorderly and abrupt stile doth altogether partake of it; so that the Bishops best way will be, to get his Hear mistaken so Zeal, for else it may justly be accounted something that hath a worse Name, and which, in the Dog-dayes will be very dangerous.

This being, Sir, my Judgement upon the whole Letter, You may well expect that I should make it good, by an Induction from particular instances; but before I do this, I must deal impartially, and assure you, that as to the main Controversie, I think the Bishop hath much the better of Mr. Baxter: For if the Question between them, was as Dr. Gunning, and Dr. Pearson do attest, such a Command is so evidently lawful, that I shall much wonder if Mr. Baxter did ever dispute it; and till he doth clearly disprove that that was not the thing in Question, I must needs think that he hath much forgot himself in making an Imperfect and Partial Relation.

Setting therefore aside the business of that particular Contest (wherein You see how much I am inclined to favour the Bishop) there are other things in his Letter of general Concernment, which I think lyable to just Exception; As,

First, That he supposeth there is so strict an Union, and so inferenable a Dependence between Kings and Bishops, that they must stand and fall together; and all who are Enemies to the one, must needs be Enemies to the other. I know very well this Axiom is much talked of, and some advantage may

be taken to confirm it, from the event of our late Wars: You know likewise, Sir, how much my Judgement is for the Order of Bishops; and how Passionate a Lover I am both of the Kings Person and Government, but yet, being thus called by You to declare the truth, though contrary to my own Humour and Interest, I must needs say, 1. It is clear from Story, that Kings were in all parts of the World, in their most flourishing Estate, before ever Bishops were heard of; and no reason can be given, why what hath once been, may not with the same terms of convenience be again? 2. Bishops as they are by Law established in England, are purely the Kings subordinate Ministers, in the management of Ecclesiastical Affairs; which His Majesty may confer upon what order of men he pleases, though they be as much Lay persons as You and I are. It is therefore very injurious to the Kings Authority, to averre that He could not otherwise uphold and maintain it, than by preserving the Undue, and, as some think, Antichristian Dignity and Prelation of His inferiour Officers. 3. Bishops are so little useful to support the Regal Dignity (which is founded upon a distinct Basis of its own) that upon enquiry it will be found, how none have been greater Enemies to the True and Undoubted Sovereignty of Princes, than some Bishops themselves: For by their Officious, and scarce warrantable, intermeddling in Civil Affairs; by their Absurd and Insignificant distinguishing between Civil and Ecclesiastical Causes (of which last they have always made themselves sole Judges) they mangle the Kings Authority, and as to Church-matters (which may be extended as far as they please) they leave the King nothing of Supremacy but the Name. The Pope of Rome therefore (who is the great Father of all such Bishops) hath improved this Notion and Distinction so far that *in ordine ad spiritualia*, he hath laboured to subje& all Civil Empires unto his sole Jurisdiction. So that if the Bishop of Worcester's Rule hold good, of *Crimine ab uno* — *Disce omnes*, i. e. That all men who are of a Party may be judged of by the miscarriages of one, then I must leave it to You to judge, what all those Bishops, that are of the Bishop of Worcester's complexion, do really drive at, by the fatal example of that one Bishops Usurpation? For,

Secondly, That Assertion, That the Bishop of Worcester (and consequently every other Bishop) is the sole Pastor of all the Congregations in his Diocese, if it be at all defensible, I am sure can be defended only by those Arguments, which are commonly acknowledged to maintain the Popes Supremacy over all Churches whatever. For since a Bishop can no otherwise discharge his duty herein, than by providing *Substitutes*, what hinders but the Bishop of Rome may as well oversee a million of Churches, as the Bishop of Worcester five hundred?

Since

Since if Deputation be lawful, more or less compass and circuit of ground doth not at all alter the case. I forbear to urge how contrary this Practise is to the Doctrine of the Apostles, both *Paul* and *Peter* (I hope the Bishop will not take it ill that I do not call them *Saints*; for these *Holy men* do not need any stile of Honour out of the *Popes Kalender.*) When *Paul* had sent for the *Elders of the Church at Ephesus*, he bids *Ad. 20. 28.* them to feed the Church of God, over which (not he himself, by his sole Authority, as Bishop of the Diocese, but) the Spirit of God had made them *Επισκοποι* i. e. *Overseers*, or to use the proper stile, *Bishops*. And *Peter* commands his *Fellow-Elders*, (for so doth that Apostle condescend to call himself) to feed the Flock which was among them, *Επισκοποῦντες* *Overseeing*, or *Acting the Bishops*; not (like the Bishop of Worcester) as *Lording it over Gods Heritage*, but as *Patterns of the Flock*. From which places we learn, not only that those two so much controverted Names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, are without distinction ascribed to the same Persons, but likewise, that whoever feed the Flock, are, under Christ (whom the Apostle there stiles the *Chief-Shepherd*) the next and immediate *Pastors* of the Flock; And to extend the *Pastoral Power* beyond the actual care of *Feeding*, is a Notion altogether unscriptural, and likewise leaves us no bounds where to fix, till we come to center upon some one *Universal Pastor*, who may claim this Power over the whole World, by the same parity of reason, that a Bishop doth over one *Diocese*.

Thirdly, It seems to be a Light, and (to say no more) unseemly trifling with sacred Scripture, to affirm, that those words of our Saviour concerning such as *come not in by the Door*; and therefore are *Thieves and Robbers*, ought to be understood of such *Ministers*, as preach to Congregations without the *Bishops License*, Which thing, the Bishop (in great Heat and Earnestnesse, as if he had done very well in it) tells us more than once, that it was the *Principal reason why he silenced Mr. Baxter*. Truly if this practise be justifiable, and those who design themselves to preach the Gospel, must, besides their *Ordination*, procure a *License from a Bishop*, to do that, which a *Woe* is denounced against, if they offer to omit. Then 1. I see not what *Ordination* signifies, since the Power that then is given, no Authority from Man can take away, any more than dissolve the Contract of a Marriage, much less impeach and hinder the free use of it: except for Moral and notoriously vicious Misdemeanours. 2. For one *Minister of the Gospel* (for certainly a *Bishop* is no more) to Silence another, and that for no better Reason, than because his *Fellow-Minister* is desirous to preach the Gospel without a *new License*, this is an abuse of Dominion, which as our Saviour doth nowhere countenance, so the first Ages of the Church, were alto-

be taken to confirm it, from the event of our late Wars: You know likewise, Sir, how much my Judgement is for the Order of Bishops; and how Passionate a Lover I am both of the Kings Person and Government; but yet, being thus called by You to declare the truth, though contrary to my own Humour and Interest, I must needs say, 1. It is clear from Story, that Kings were in all parts of the World, in their most flourishing Estates, before ever Bishops were heard of; and no reason can be given, why what hath once been, may not with the same terms of convenience be again? 2. Bishops as they are by Law established in England, are purely the Kings subordinate Ministers, in the management of Ecclesiastical Affairs; which His Majesty may confer upon what order of men he pleases, though they be as much Lay persons as You and I are. It is therefore very injurious to the Kings Authority, to averre that He could not otherwise uphold and maintain it, than by preserving the Undue, and, as some think, Antichristian Dignity and Prelation of His inferiour Officers. 3. Bishops are so little useful to support the Regal Dignity (which is founded upon a distinct Basis of its own) that upon enquiry it will be found, how none have been greater Enemies to the True and Undoubted Sovereignty of Princes, than some Bishops themselves: For by their Officious, and scarce warrantable, intermeddling in Civil Affairs; by their Absurd and Insignificant distinguishing between Civil and Ecclesiastical Causes (of which last they have alwayes made themselves sole Judges) they mangle the Kings Authority, and as to Church-matters (which may be extended as far as they please) they leave the King nothing of Supremacy but the Name. The Pope of Rome therefore (who is the great Father of all such Bishops) hath improved this Notion and Distinction so far that *in ordine ad spiritualia*, he hath laboured to subje&t all Civil Empires unto his sole Jurisdiction. So that if the Bishop of Worcester's Rule hold good, of *Crimine ab uno* — *Disce omnes*, i. e. That all men who are of a Party may be judged of by the miscarriages of one, then I must leave it to You to judge, what all those Bishops, that are of the Bishop of Worcester's complexion, do really drive at, by the fatal example of that one Bishops Usurpation? For,

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Since if Deputation be lawful, more or less compass and circuit of ground doth not at all alter the case, I forbear to urge how contrary this Practise is to the Doctrine of the Apostles, both *Paul* and *Peter* (I hope the Bishop will not take it ill that I do not call them *Saints*, for these *Holy men* do not need any stile of Honour out of the *Popes Kalender*.) When *Paul* had sent for the *Elders of the Church at Ephesus*, he bids *A. 20. 28.* them to feed the Church of God, over which (not he himself, by his sole Authority, as Bishop of the Diocese, but) the Spirit of God had made them *Επισκοποι* i. e. *Overseers*, or to use the proper stile, *Bishops*. And *Peter* commands his *Fellow-Elders*, (for so doth that Apostle condescend to call himself) to feed the Flock which was among them, *Επισκοποῦντες* *Overseeing*, or *Acting the Bishops*, not (like the Bishop of Worcester) as *Lording it over Gods Heritage*, but as *Patterns of the Flock*. From which places we learn, not only that those two so much controverted Names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, are without distinction ascribed to the same Persons, but likewise

that the Apostles of the Church were bound to feed the Flock as Pastors, and not as Bishops.

IRREGULAR
PAGINATION

Christ (whom the immediate Pastors of the Church have the actual care of) likewise leaves us no room to suppose one *Universal* Pastor of the whole world, by the same parity of Reason. (more) unseemly trifling with our Saviour's words, therefore are *Page 3.* Ministers,

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Since if Deputation be lawful, more or less compass and circuit of ground doth not at all alter the case. I forbear to urge how contrary this Practice is to the Doctrine of the Apostles, both *Paul* and *Peter* (I hope the Bishop will not take it ill that I do not call them *Saints*; for these *Holy men* do not need any title of Honour out of the *Popes Kalender.*) When *Paul* had sent for the *Elders of the Church at Ephesus*, he bids *Ad. 20. 28.* them to feed the Church of God, over which (not he himself, by his sole Authority, as Bishop of the Diocese, but) the Spirit of God had made them *Επισκοπες* i. e. *Overseers*, or to use the proper title, *Bishops*. And *Peter* commands his *Fellow-Elders*, (for so doth that Apostle condescend to call himself) to feed the Flock which was among them, *Επισκοπῶντες* *Overseeing*, or *Acting the Bishops*; not (like the Bishop of Worcester) as *Lording it over Gods Heritage*, but as *Patterns of the Flock*. From which places we learn, not only that those two so much controverted Names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, are without distinction ascribed to the same Persons, but likewise, that whoever feed the Flock, are, under Christ (whom the Apostle there titles the *Chief-Shepherd*) the next and immediate *Pastors* of the Flock; And to extend the *Pastoral Power* beyond the actual care of *Feeding*, is a Notion altogether unscriptural, and likewise leaves us no bounds where to fix, till we come to center upon some one *Universal Pastor*, who may claim this Power over the whole World, by the same parity of reason, that a Bishop doth over one *Diocese*.

Thirdly, It seems to be a Light, and (to say no more) unseemly trifling with sacred Scripture, to affirm, that those words of our Saviour concerning such as *come not in by the Door*, and therefore are *Thieves and Robbers*, ought to be understood of such *Ministers*, as preach to *Congregations without the Bishops License*, Which thing, the Bishop (in great Heat and Earnestnesse, as if he had done very well in it) tells us more than once, that it was the *Principal reason why he silenced Mr. Baxter*. Truly if this practice be justifiable, and those who design themselves to preach the Gospel, must, besides their *Ordination*, procure a *License from a Bishop*, to do that, which a *Word* is denounced against, if they offer to omit. Then 1. I see not what *Ordination* signifies, since the Power that then is given, no Authority from Man can take away, any more than dissolve the Contract of a Marriage, much less impeach and hinder the free use of it. except for Moral and notoriously vicious Misdemeanours. 2. For one *Minister of the Gospel* (for certainly a *Bishop* is no more) to Silence another, and that for no better Reason, than because his *Fellow-Minister* is desirous to preach the Gospel without a new *License*, this is an abuse of Dominion, which as our Saviour doth nowhere countenance, so the first Ages of the Church, were alto-

gether unacquainted with. For the *Bishops* instance of our Saviours putting to silence the *Scribes and Pharisees*, is both Impertinent and False, because our Saviour did only silence them by Arguments, which the Bishop may do when ever he is able; but what is that to an Authoritative and Imperious commanding men to be Silent. Besides, even then when our Saviour was most strict in pronouncing *Woes* against the *Pharisees*, in that very Chapter, he is so far from forbidding the *Pharisees* to preach, that he commands his Disciples both to Hear and to Obey their Doctrine. So that since the Bishop will needs have the *Presbyterians* to be *Pharisees*, let him but allow them the same Liberty of Teaching the People, as our Saviour did the other, and I believe they will not (at least were I a *Presbyterian* I should not Jenvy his Lordship, either his Title or Mintenance, how undue and unpericdsoever they both be. And though the Bishop is pleased to say that the *Presbyterians* preach nothing but *Sedition and Treason* (which is most false, as being directly contrary to their declared Principles) yet the *Pharisees* taught something worse, and that was *Blasphemy*: Yet our Saviour (who sure had more power, and withall, more care of his Church than the Bishop of Worcester) did not go about by Force to prohibit them. I wish therefore, that this Bishop and the rest of his Brethren (if any are Cholerick and Testy enough to be of his mind) would consider, that as by silencing their *Fellow-Ministers*, for such insolous and slight pretences, they usurp a Power, which Christ never gave, so at the last day he will not thank them for the Exercise of it.

Fourthly, How consistent with the *Civil Peace* (for as to *Christian Charity*, the whole thing is but a *Letter of defiance* against it) the *Bishops Distinction* is about the *Act of Indemnity*, and (the so much forgotten *Act of Oblivion*, I hope His Majesty and the Parliament will in due time consider. For he is so hardy as to tell us, That the King by is only pardoned the corporal Punishment; but the Church had not, nor ought not to forgive the Scandal, till honourable amends were made her by Confession and Recantation. Where by speaking of the Church, as distinct from the State (I mean in point of *Coercive Jurisdiction*) the Bishop would make us believe, that after His Majesty and the Parliament have forgiven men their Civil Crimes, there is still another Power, which he calls the Church, unto which they are still accountable, even so far as to make a *Publick Recantation*. Here I wish the Bishop would have spoken out of the Clouds, and plainly told us, what he meant by the Church: For if it be a *Cgregation of the Faithful met together for the Worship of God*, as the Definition of Scripture, and of the Church of England is in the 39. Articles; this will not at all advantage him, since such a Church hath no *Coercive or Imposing Power*: But if he means the *Hierarchy or Ecclesiastical*

astical State, by *Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c.* There can be nothing more false, or more dishonourable unto our Civil Government, than to affirm that it lies in their power, not only to Punish, but likewise to exact a *Recantation*, for those Faults which the *King and Parliament* have not only pardoned, but under severe Penalties commanded should never more be remembered: And therefore I doubt not, but they will resent this Malicious and Ill-grounded Fancy. And since the Bishop is so over-zealous for the very Letter of the Law, when it imposes *Ceremonies*, give me leave a little to wonder, that one of his Profession and Place in the Church should so unchristianly go against it, when it enjoyns Moderation and Forgiveness as to Civil Injuries. Such as he, who make the Law, instead of being a *Buckler* to protect *Converts*, a *Sword* only to cut off all such as were once Offenders, labour what they can to make men Desperate, and thereby render the Peace of the Nation, and, in that, the prosperity and Welfare of His Majesty very Insecure and Hazardous. For what can more enrage Men to take Wild and Forbidden Courses, than to see even Preachers of the Gospel strive to widen their Wounds, and, contrary to their own former Professions, to pull off that Plaister, which the Wisdom of our State Physicians had provided to heal our Distempers.

Fifthly, It is Bold and Impious (I know not how to express it more mildly) what he affirms, that *If to command an Act, which by accident may prove an occasion of sin, be sinful, then God himself cannot command any thing*. For, though as I said before, I will by no means own that Assertion, yet, a thing, which by accident may become sinful, may be Unlawful in another to command, for want of sufficient Authority, whereas Gods Sovereign power doth without dispute or controversy make all his Commands to be just; and therefore his Name ought not to be mentioned in our trivial disputes; because every such vain Use of it, is nothing but a diminution and lessening of his Greatness.

Sixthly, *That an Offence; to which a disproportionable Penalty is annexed, is not to be measured by the Quality of the Act considered in it self, but by the mischievous consequences it may produce*; whether this ought to hold good in Civil Laws, becomes neither the Bishop nor me to dispute: but in Divinity nothing can be more False and Dangerous. For to impose, in the Worship of God as necessary circumstances of it, things confessedly trivial and needless; and, upon the forbearance of them, to debar any from the benefits first of Christian, and then of Civil Communion, is a thing which hath not the least pretence of Scripture or Primitive practice to justify it. For our Saviour tells us, *That whosoever were not against him, were for him*; and the Apostle bids us *to receive our weak Brethren*; and not to judge, much less to burden his Conscience: Unto which *Sacred Canon*, no-

thing;

thing can be more directly contrary, than what the Bishop most passionately tells us, *That the Laws do well to punish, even with non-admission to the Sacrament, such as will not, or perhaps dare not, kneel.* And the Reason he gives is equally *Apocrypha*, Because, saith he, *it becomes not the Law-givers to endanger the Churches peace for their sake:* As if first, It did not much more become all Law-givers, in the things of God, to observe the Law of Christ, which is a Law of Love and Liberty. Secondly, As if the Churches peace would not be much more endangered, by the pressing of things doubtful, than by the forbearance of them. For since by the enforcing of such things, as God hath no where commanded, our Christian liberty is entangled; from hence it follows, that, if we ought not, yet we lawfully may refuse to submit unto such Impositions; as our Saviour did *in not washing his hands before Meat*; and the Apostle Paul, in the case of *Circumcision*.

Seventhly, As for the chain of Consequences, which the Bishop links and ties together. As that from *Diversity in external Rites*, arises *Dislike*; from *Dislike*, *Enmity*; from *Enmity*, *Opposition*; thence *Schism in the Church*, and *Sedition in the State*; For proof of which, he doth very virulently instance in our Unhappy times. To prevent which, he tells us, *That the State cannot be safe without the Church, nor the Church without the Unity, nor Unity without Uniformity, nor Uniformity without a strict and rigorous Imposition.* To all this I answer, that it is a meer Rope of Sand, and the Parts of his Chain do as little hang together, as *Sampsons Foxes* did before they were tied by the Tails, which course the Bishop hath imitated, not forgetting to put in even the *Firebrand* it self to make up the comparison. For 1. Nothing is more clear than that there hath been, nay ought to be, *Diversity in external Forms*, without any *Dislike* at all as to the Person of another: For the Apostles that preached to the *Circumcision* gave the right hand of Fellowship unto the *Apostles of the Gentiles*; although their *Outward Rites* in publick Worship, were far more different, than those, which, by any of the most distant persuasions, are now practised in *England*. 2. The State may be preserved, without the least reference to the Church, unless it turns Persecuter of it; as is evident in those 300 years before *Constantines* time, in which there was no Church at all legally countenanced; and for some scores of years after, both the *Christians* and *Gentiles* were equally advanced and favoured. 3. *Unity*, I mean such as Christ came to establish (which is an *Unity* in heart and spirit) doth not in the least depend upon *Uniformity*, but upon *Charity*, i. e. a Christian and a Candid forbearance of one another in things *Circumstantial*, when we agree in the *Essentials of Worship*; which is a thing, that meer Civility would teach, though Religion

ligion were silent in it. And whereas the Bishop thinks he hath got some advantage, by reviving the memory of our late *Civil Wars*, which, were he either Christian or Man enough, he would wish were eternally buried in silence) I must (to use his own Phrase) *tell him in his ear*, that our Wars did not arise from the separation of Conscientious Dissentors, but from the violence and Fury of Unconscionable Imposers: Who would not allow their Brethren (who desired nothing more than to live peaceably by them) that sober Liberty, which the *Law of God* commanded, and no *Law of Man* could justly deprive them of. And whether the publick maintaining of the very same Positions and Practises, may not in time beget the same Feuds and Animosities, although this Bishop cares not, yet I doubt not, but His Majesty, as he now doth, so will always graciously consider.

Eightly, Whether as to the matter of *F&A*, the *French Protestants* do enjoy standing at the *Sacrament*; and the *Dutch kneeling*; I will labour to inform my self of some more Unyallied witness than this Bishop; for in the *Ecclesiastical Laws* of those Churches, which I have carefully perused, I can find no such matter. But if they did so, this would not at all justify the Imposition of *Kneeling*; because 1. The Question is *de Jure*, whether it be lawful to prescribe any one such certain Posture, without Submitting to which, it shall not be lawful to admit any to the Sacrament; and till the Affirmative of this be proved by Scriptures, Examples, and Instances from the Practice of men, will not satisfy a doubting conscience. 2. Neither of those fore-mentioned Postures are so much to exception as *Kneeling*; because this last is manifestly more superfluous, for 1. It varies most of any from the *First Pattern*. 2. It hath been monstrously abused by the *Papists* to *Idolatri*; which alone renders it most Unsafe to be practised, & most Unwarrantable to be imposed: Especially, till it be again explained, as in the very first *Liturgy* of all it was; which I particularly mention, to shew how little our *Reformation* since *Edw. 6th.* time, hath been improved.

Lastly, As it was Needlessly, so was it likewise Uncharitably done, to revile the whole Body of *Presbyterians* for the Faults of Mr. *Baxter*; upon supposition that either he is a *Presbyterian*, or so culpable as the Bishop would make him. For since every man is to bear his own Burden, what Bible did the Bishop find it in, that he might without scruple, asperse a whole order of Men, for the pretended miscarriage of one; who, by the Bishop's own Confession, was not of so Amicable and compliant a Temper as the rest: And therefore certainly they ought not to be brought in as Parties in that crime of Unpeaceableness, from which the Bishop just before had absolved them: but whose spoils the Memory; and sure his

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Brethren the Bishops would not take it well of a *Presbyterian*, should he cry out *Crimine ab uno, disce omnes*---- See what manner of Spirit these Bishops are of, and judge them all by the Bishop of Worcester's example. Truly, Sir, I am a little angry, when I consider how much this one man's Indiscretion hath exposed all of the same Order to Censure; For were they all like him, (which I do not, nor dare not think) I should not scruple to pray heartily, what the Bishop doth in scorn concerning the Preachers----- *Lord deliver us from such Bishops.* And let all the People say *Amen.*

Thus, Sir, you see how willing I am to serve you, in proposing my Exceptions, the fuller prosecution of which, I must leave to some other Pen, more able both in *Divinity* and *Policy*, who may convince both the Bishop and the World, that it is not yet time to sow such *Tares*; This Age is a little too knowing to be gull'd with an *Αυτοσέβη*, or to take every thing for Oracle which a Bishops Passion dictates. But before I ease you of your Trouble in reading this, I will crave leave to give you a Taste of the Reverend Father's deep wisdom in two or three particulars. ----

1. In that he declaims, so fiercely, as if he would crack his Girdle, against all those who force all *Communicants* to come unto them, and be particularly examined before they admit them to the Sacrament. Indeed, Sir, this was an Imposition, as no way Justifiable, so, for ought I can here, no where practised. The Custom being that men were only once for all examined, at their first coming to the Sacrament; which the Bishop himself allows under other Names of being Catechised and Instructed. It was therefore wisely done of the Bishop, this cold weather, to set up a *Man of straw*, and then get himself heat by threshing it.

2. It is methinks very Politickly done to Exclaim against the poor *Covenant*; and, in great zeal, to wish all the *Books*, which defend it, were burnt by the Authors, to save the Hangman a labour. For here let his Adversary do what he can, the Bishop will be too hard for him: For if he takes no notice of the Covenant, the Bishop clearly gains the Cause, if he ventures to assert it, he shall presently be confuted with a Confiscation. So that under the shelter of this Unanswerable Dilemma, I leave him, lest I should be gored with the Horns of it. And this I speak, Sir, as one that, though I never took, but always opposed the Covenant; yet I have a very good opinion of many that did, and withal a great Tenderness for the lawful Part of an Oath, after it is once solemnly taken. I will only adde this, That since that Oath hath been so generally taken, even by those that were most Active in His Majesties Service; and several times ventured their Lives, to signalize their Loyalty; I think the Ashes

The Bishop of Worcester's Letter.

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of it (since it was burnt by Publick Authority) had much better have been suffered to rest quietly, than thus to be blown up and scattered abroad by the Bishop's furious breath, when no occasion was given him so much as to mention it.

Lastly, I can never enough commend the Bishops wisdom, in resolving so angrily never to write again; for he is Old, and hath Travelled far, and knows that it is much easier to speak rash and unjustifiable things, than to defend them. And therefore he deals with those, that he hath provoked, as witty School-boys do with their Companions, first he hits them a box on the Ear, and then very discreetly retreats, and fairly runs away. But if Goliath, who took upon him to defie the Host of Israel, should, as soon as ever he had done, have sneaked out of the Field, and thought he had done manfully enough in making a bold Challenge, and in shewing his Teeth at them; I believe the *Philistines* would hardly have thanked him for that Empty shew of Valour, whereby he could not Conquer, but only Enrage the Enemy. And whether the Bishops will not have the same opinion of this over-forward and unwary Champion of theirs, I hope, Sir, you will neither enquire your self, nor desire that I should: For I have already done enough to shew how much I am,

Jan, 28

SIR,

Your most humble Servant

D. E.

A

A Second Letter unto a Person of Honour and Quality, containing some Animadversions upon the Bishop of Worcester's Letter. Together with a brief Answer unto all that one L'S — intends to write.

Honourable and worthy Sir,

YOU much surprized me in your last, wherein you acquainted me, that the Letter I sent you (which was the hasty issue of one or two leasure hours, and therefore very unfit for Publick View) was by your self, to prevent the trouble of transcribing, communicated to the World; and the Result, you tell me, is, that many sober Persons (who thought it very fit that the Bishop should be a little humbled) are much satisfied by it, but the Bishop himself so far concerned, that he hath employed one L'S — to answer it. Truly, Sir, I am so taken with this last part of your News, that, instead of prosecuting my resentments against the Reverend Bishop (which nothing but Publick Considerations made me take up (I now begin to pity him) and am heartily sorry he should be driven to so desperate a shift, as that, for want of better Champions, he is forced to commit his Cause to the Patronage of such a Pen, whose Defence will more dishonour him than the sharpest Accusation. For who, that knows anything of Civility and Learning, doth not know, that the Character you give of that L'S — is not more sharp than serious, when you call him a Person so lost to all good Breeding, of so forfeited, so undone a Reputation in point of meer Morality, that for a Bishop, so much as to countenance him, is a crime which some Councils have pronounced an *Anathema* against; but to employ him, and to think, that either he is fit to manage such Nice Points as that Letter glanceth upon; or that such indigested stuffe as he must needs disgorge, will not create a *Nausea* and

and Loathing in all Sober Readers, is altogether as improper, as if the Bishop should set (to use a Phrase which that Gentleman understands) *a Hog to play upon his Organs*, or appoint a Scavenger to wash his Surplice; the very attempting of which would betray, that he loved neither Musick nor Cleanliness.

I must confess Sir, I am very tender of the Bishops Reputation, and there is yet a possibility for him to recover his Credit again: For though he be a little Angry, yet the World must needs acknowledge, that he is a plain dealing man; since his Dudgeon phrase of *this is the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth*, with such kind of Home-spun, Harmless Elegancies that are scattered in his Letter, savour very much of the old *English* Breeding, and call to mind the Trunk-Breeches, and Wooden Daggers of our Ancestors; who I believe, spake all in the same uncounterfeit stile, which it well becomes a Bishop who loves Antiquity, to imitate: But for him now to grow weary of this Primitive simplicity, to suspect his own strength, and to entrust *Monsieur Le Friske* the Morrice-dancer to undertake his Quarrel; To chuse one for his Champion, who hath been a Fidler in all Governments; and would have been a Fidler to the worst of them (for which end he knows how many pitiful Legs and Faces he made, to scrape acquaintance with the Tyrant *Oliver*) for him now to be suddenly advanced so much beyond his Art, will run the poor man into a dangerous *Vertigo*; and in the mean while much discredit the Bishops Cause, as if he could get none to maintain it but this common Barrer, this Mercenary Songster, that for two Crowns more will change his Note, and rail against his Patron.

This, Sir, if possible, much more low and mean being my Opinion of that Whistling and Thin souled Adversary you mention, give me leave to tell you, that I am so little concerned in any thing he intends to write, that since you resolved to divulge the Letter I sent you, I am sorry you did not likewise publish my Name to the World to; that so, another, whom, as you tell me, he designs to fall upon, might not, upon Mistake, have the Credit of his Calumnies; since every Reproach from him (who hath not let any thing Sacred, whether Person or Doctrine, escape his venomous Pasquils) I look upon as a Signal Mark of Honour, beyond what any other Epitaph can give me. As when men scatter Dung upon a Garden, the Flowers grow more Fair and Fragrant ever after; So were I ambitious of a Name, I think I could not more speedily procure it among all good men, than by entreating that *L^dS* — to appear against me.

As therefore, Sir, you love my Credit, manage this Design for me, and promote the Work as much as you can; And by divulging my true Name,

Let not any Jot of the Commendation he designs me, be deriv'd upon that Gentleman you mention, whose Vein, if I mistake not, lies in another way. However, Sir, if there be no Help, but the Innocent must suffer, pray think so Nobly of me, as that I do religiously intend to follow your Advice, and not offer to answer one, who would fain be Answered, that he might appear Considerable. I will not, Sir, by taking any notice of him, suffer him to Rail himself into Reputation: But as hitherto, with all his little *Witricismes*, and Twenty Good morrows (to shew what Trade he drives) he could never gain so much Respect from any, as to deserve a Confutation; So shall I let him pass still, like *Bessus* in the Comedy, secure in his own Want of Worth, and by that, safe from Censure. And thus, Sir, I dismis that Puny Authour, unto his Learned Labours, of which, you tell me, he is now lying in; And if there be any Vertue in Sick (for he drinks and writes in the same measure, only with this Difference, that what goes in Wine, comes out Water) the Women of *Turnball-Street* shall not long be unfurnished of a Pamphlet.

But, Sir, to conclude with something more serious, I can assure you, that I am perfectly reconciled to the Bishop, and will point him out a Fair and Noble way of righting himself. For, setting aside those Merry Passages in my Letter, which his too much Heat gave but too just an Occasion for, I give you free Leave to acquaint both him and the World, that I intend to make him an Acknowledgment as submissive as any Canon enjoys, if he will either by Writing, or Conference, make good any of these Positions, which he asserts in his Book, and against which, I have briefly subjoyned my Reasons.

Pos. 1. *That Monarchy cannot consist without Episcopacy.* Neg. For Monarchy was many 1000. Years before Episcopacy, and therefore demonstrably may be without it.

Pos. 2. *That the Bishop of Worcester is the Sole and Immediate Pastor of all the Congregations in his Diocese.* Neg. For it is utterly against Scripture Rule, to extend the Name of Pastor, beyond the Flock which one actually feeds.

Pos. 3. *That it is unlawful for any, though Ordained, to preach in the Bishop of Worcester's Diocese, without his License.* Neg. For Ordination is a sufficient License, which runs as the Apostles Commission did, *Go preach the Gospel*; without being confined to Place, or needing a new License.

Pos. 4. *That it is Lawful in the Worship of God, to enjoyn a small thing under a great Penalty.* Neg. For we have no Warrant for such an Imposition in the Word of God, which ought to be the sole Rule of all Religious Worship.

Pos. 5. *That the Church hath Power to exact Confession and Recantation, for*

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for those Crimes which the State hath pardoned. *Neg.* For, as to Coercive Power and Jurisdiction, there is no difference at all between the Church and State.

Pos. 6. That the Presbyterians (I suppose, he means, not Imposers of their own Formes, but barely Dissenters from those Imposed by others) *are all Seditious.* *Neg.* For it is against their publick Confession of Faith; which, as the 39. Articles, and Church-Canons are of the Episcopal, so that ought to be the Test of the Presbyterian Perswasion.

Thus, Sir, You see I am willing to reduce this Controversie unto a Rational and Calm way of Debate, and if the Bishop, or any sober Person for him, will undertake to maintain, either all, or any of the forementioned Positions, I will either make good my Negative, or declare my Conversion.

And because, Sir, it is possible you may be asked, Who it is that thus boldly makes a Challenge unto one of our Learned Prelates? Your personal Knowledge of me can abundantly satisfy them, that he is very much for Bishops, more for the King, most of all for the Purity and Peace of Religion; And were he not for all these, in their Due and Just Subordination, he thinks you would not own him for,

Feb. 6.
1661.

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

D. E.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have just now received an Elaborate Piece, written by one that styles himself J. C. M. D. a man very well read in the Modern Fathers, and of so Elegant and Facete a Style, that I am sorry all the places in Gotham-Colledge are taken up, for this man would be an excellent President of it: I hope the Bishop will be so Charitable as to provide a Sine-Cura for him, for his Employment in Physick will never be able to maintain him in Books and clean Linnen else; I wish neither he may ever want such able Champions, nor they besitting Pensions,
Adieu,